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only by chiefs, the last who wore it being the maternal grandfather of my informant Calixto daueru'kị. This is evidently the same object that Bates describes: "The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown." In his plate, the man leaning against a house post is evidently the chief with his regalia.

Artificial Body Deformation

The manner of cutting the hair was formerly the same for both sexes. It was trimmed straight across the forehead just above the eyebrows, the rest, which was never cut, being allowed to fall free to the shoulders and sides. All old portraits confirm this. For work, the men rolled up their long hair in back, confining it by means of a twist of hair from below the bun. Others braided it into a pigtail, rolling this up and securing it with a strip of envira.

The hair was smoothed with a small comb (tụ:/mị^{a}), the teeth of which, made from the frondstalk of the anajá palm, were fastened by fibres interlaced ornamentally between two pairs of twigs. The last Indian who knew how to make these combs died a few years ago. Today the Tukuna wear their hair in Neobrazilian style and comb it with purchased combs. A few Indian youths follow the custom of allowing their hair to grow exaggeratedly over the forehead and combing, or rather tossing, it all to one side. The beard is not plucked, and thick eyebrows are considered handsome.

Many Indians, especially the girls and children, are never completely free from lice, which, however, are not permitted to increase too much but are scrupulously captured and immediately eaten. But there are many individuals of both sexes who carefully keep themselves free of these parasites.

Ear piercing.—Formerly the Tukuna pierced the ear lobes of girls as often as those of boys, but nowadays only boys undergo the operation (paiči'ni). It is performed during the same ceremony in which the hair is plucked out from children, which formerly took place when the child was two years old; today it occurs at four years of age or over, the implement being a needle made of a bone of the parauacú monkey. The child's paternal aunt pierces the lobe with the instrument, while another relative grasps the point as it emerges on the other side and finishes drawing it through. In the hole thus made they insert a cotton cord and apply a bit of crushed round pepper (më'ë). No diet is imposed upon the victim, but he is prohibited from fighting with his companions lest the puncture suppurate and [the boy is told] become "the size of the head of the one with whom you fought."

Formerly, both sexes commonly put into the hole small plates of white wood (*ochroma*, according to Tessmann). On ceremonial occasions they wore in the ears small wands, the tips in front decorated with the red and black feathers of a small bird, the pore'në, the other end encircled by heron plumes. From this wand there hung a small plate of brass (pë'ru-pë'ru), half-moon shaped for the men (like a quiricá, fig. 4, *a*), triangular for the women. I do not know of what material these small plates were made before the Tukuna knew of brass. Even today the girls use these ear decorations at puberty ceremonies (pl. 12, *k*).

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852 girls' ear lobes are pierced. The direction of this feast (pai-ĕi'n|), as that of the painting ceremony, falls to the paternal aunt. Both follow the procedures common [604] to all the rites of passage, which are described in detail in connection with the puberty ceremony.

Spix relates that at the ceremony which he personally attended in Tabatinga (though from the evidence he apparently witnessed it only from afar!) the hair was plucked from a child two months old, and he says that this ceremony frequently cost the life of the child![1] But the boy shown in his plate "Maskenzug der Ticunas" has a bald head, is held in a woman's arms (it should be in a carrying sling), and appears to be about two years old. In any case, I have never seen or heard of a single instance where this operation caused the slightest harm to the child.

The hair-plucking ceremony, celebrated with all the elaboration of the major festivals, lasts two or three days. On the morning of the second day the child is [302] decorated with thick urucú paint on which hawk plumage is glued (pl. 12, *o*). Horizontal lines are painted to encircle the arms, forearms, thighs, and legs; two vertical lines are drawn on the front of the torso and two behind, and spots are daubed on the cheeks and forehead. On the arms are placed bands made from feathers (see p. 37), other bands are placed on the legs. In the process of weaving these bands, short locks of hair from one of the child's relatives are inserted.

[301] A boy has a necklace of monkey teeth placed about the neck, and he is dressed in a double tanga of painted white tururí cloth (see p. 36). For a girl, a tanga of cotton cloth is used, for which nowadays purchased material is substituted. Pectoral strings of beads complete the feminine attire. Today, even though the child [482] undergoing this ceremony has already passed far beyond the age where it requires the carrying sling, the aunt seats it in a sling of tururí ornamented with painted triangles and dances with it thus in the midst of the guests. The ears are pierced in the manner described on page 38. Before the hair plucking no drug is given to the child. I observed that the children differ individually very much in sensitiveness. [152] All the children cry quite enough, but it was extraordinary to see a boy at least four years old struggle and bellow so desperately that a man had to hold him while three women were plucking his hair. In the end, the little one was completely exhausted and without a vestige of the ornaments worn at the beginning of the ceremony. His mother, seated near by without taking part, eyed her son with an indignant look and with evident disgust at his deportment, which appeared to shame her.

Some eight months afterward the child celebrates the dyupa'këë (na-pa'këë, forehead), a complementary feast of slight importance during which the hair, by then grown anew, is clipped straight across the forehead. On the same occasion the leftover decorations from the preceding ceremony, which have been kept on purpose, are burned.

857 524 *Childhood.*—The lives of children run a rather monotonous course, owing to the lack of opportunity for them to associate with one another. Once in a great while, with the exception of a feast, where the preoccupation is different, one may see a number of them joined in play. Their toys are dolls of muirapiranga wood (see

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188.

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881 ***Beginning of the ceremony.***—By this time, if not before, the paternal uncle of the present or prospective vorẽkị has assumed his function as director of the ceremony, called vorẽkị-ę̃į̣', "drink of the girl." Sometimes he hangs his hammock next to the front wall of the seclusion room, since he is responsible for the girl. He is aided by his wife and the vorẽkị's mother, and by other relatives if necessary, in serving the drinks. The girl's father takes no part in the ceremony that directly concerns her person; the guests are his responsibility.

881 5?4 ***The arrival of the guests.***—In the afternoon the first canoe bringing guests draws up to the feast house. If the guest is someone of importance, the owner of the house, beating his drum and accompanied by some members of the family, who strike the rattle stick on the ground, goes to the door to receive and conduct the visitor. The guest goes up to the house, with long tucum fibers trailing down behind his back. His costume, if he has one, remains concealed in the canoe. Some time later, his wife also goes up, with the burden basket and the children, to hang up the hammocks in the feast house in the place indicated by the hosts. The recent arrivals greet all those who are already in the house with: "Nu'ma!," and all respond with the same word. Everyone is daubed with genipapo on the face, the women more liberally than the men (fig. 10), and the savage appearance that this paint gives to the features often contrasts strangely with the civilized clothing and the perfume flask, the neck of which protrudes from the coat pocket. The sides of the house are filled with hammocks and baggage, but the center remains free for the dance and the ceremonies. The men, almost all of whom carry their carved and painted dance staves (see p. 41) and their own small drums, seat themselves on long benches, which are customarily placed at the edge of the central space. Here the "uncle" of the vorẽkị first gives them a swallow of paiauarú brew in a small gourd and then afterward serves the paiauarú proper in a large gourd.

[302]

Fig. 10. Facial paint (genipapo) for a ceremony.

881 535 533 ***The beginning of the dance.***—Soon some arise, place the dance staves across their shoulders, hang the little drums on the lower tips, and, hitting the drums with a measured beat, begin to march by twos and threes in single file around the margin of the central space. They are preceded by the owner of the house with his drum, or by some other member of the family who occasionally takes over, it being a question of honor for the players not to stop the drumbeat once the ceremony has started. Thus passes the eve of the celebration.

881 386 ***Preparation for dressing the girl.***—After midnight, about two or three o'clock in the morning, the vorẽkị ceremony begins with the preparation of genipapo dye with which to decorate her, and also of white tururí for her costume. A basket containing some forty genipapo fruits is placed in the center of the house, together with a scraper, some leaves of a plant called nu"u" (*Aroidea* ?), two muirapiranga malletș, and two sticks of white tururí, 2.5 m. long and 5 cm. thick. Half a meter below the upper tip of these a circular furrow is cut in the bark.

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The paternal uncle selects three persons from among those present, preferably from the clans of the vərẽkį̣'s moiety, and hands them the genipapo and the two wooden mallets. A man, beating a small drum, and a woman with a rattle stick remain standing to one side, as is customary in all ceremonial acts, while the other guests continue their march around the group to the sound of the drums. The man holding the genipapo lets loose a loud, prolonged cry: "yẹ!" The chorus responds with the same yell, and immediately the three persons selected fall to their task, one scraping genipapo, the other two peeling off the tururí bark by rhythmic beating with the mallets.

From time to time, for the three workers the uncle substitutes three others; to scrape genipapo he calls upon women as well as men. Slowly the tururí bark, turned inside out, begins to descend, and the mass of scraped genipapo mounts higher on the nuⁿuⁿ leaves. However, before this work is started, the paternal uncle goes to the girl's retreat to close her nostrils by a magic gesture that consists of twisting something; if she smells the odor of genipapo prematurely, she will die. Out in the enclosure is heard the blast of the uaricánas. The vərẽkį̣'s mother goes to the seclusion room to measure the length needed for the tururí fringes of the armbands. As soon as the two pieces of tururí are peeled to this length, the bark is pulled back to its natural position, and the two bark tubes are separated from the wood simultaneously by a circular cut. The scraper is placed in the basket, the leaves containing the genipapo pulp in front of it, the two peeled logs to the side, and the tubes of tururí are doubled and placed on top. It is now 5 A.M.

Shortly thereafter the genipapo scrapings are squeezed. The paternal uncle with his clan companion, both clutching rattle sticks and accompanied by drummers, carry the two pieces of tururí in a solemn procession to the water's edge, where they remove the outer bark, being careful to give a sudden jerk to both pieces at the same time, and lift each into the air while a cry of "yẹ:!" comes from all participants. The pieces are washed carefully until they become whitish, after which the performers carry them back with true solemnity, marching with them round the feast house three or four times before entering. The sections of bark are opened by a lengthwise incision and are hung on the uaricána enclosure to dry in the sun.

The painting of the girl.—Now follows the ritual of painting the girl with the previously prepared genipapo dye. A basin containing the dye and two corncobs is placed in the uaricána enclosure, from which the instruments have already been removed at daybreak. The women open the little door of the seclusion room which opens into the enclosure and lead out the vərẽkį̣, who is completely naked; she covers her eyes with her hands to protect them from the sunlight.

On her knees and ankles she wears narrow bands woven of tucum (formerly of cotton). Once in the enclosure, she is placed erect on the leaves containing the squeezed genipapo pulp, facing toward the side belonging to her moiety. However, on two occasions when I was present the vərẽkį̣ stood on a large, flattened ball of tucum fibers, which her uncle removed at the end of the ceremony. She had made these threads during the period of her seclusion, to prove that she would be a hard-working girl and in gratitude to her uncle for all his care of her.

The enclosure is full of women. One of them arranges the vərẽkį̣'s hair—the locks of the forehead are drawn to the front, the others to the back—tying them

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881 with a horizontal fillet in this position. The shaman arrives, and grasps the hair
302 of the girl's forehead, making gestures as if he were wrenching it. Still holding the girl firmly by the hair of her forehead, he calls all the relatives so that each one of them, first the men, then the women, may cut off a lock of hair, which they bear off with a shout of "dyę:!" and immediately hand over to the uncle. The shaman twists the ends of the hair clipped from the forehead, because, when the culture hero dyoi' first cut the hair from a vorẽkị's forehead, a lot of blood ran from the cut. One by one the male relatives now dip a corncob into the dye and paint a curved line on each side of the vorẽkị's spine from bottom to top (fig. 11), raising the corncob high each time they complete the upward sweep and shouting in chorus: "dyę:!" Afterward the female relatives finish painting her completely with the same dye. This done, she again returns to the seclusion room, the leaves with the genipapo pulp are carried behind her, and the door is once more securely locked. It is now eight o'clock in the morning.

Fig. 11. Painting of girl with genipapo for girl's puberty ceremony; design on back.

Transportation of the smoked meat to the feast house.—
881 Now the rites which have as a direct object the person of the vorẽkị are interrupted by another act of general character, which some, however, quite properly, celebrate on the eve of the feast. At nine o'clock in the morning the host gathers all the guests together in the house and, always beating the drum, conducts them, decorated with tucum fibers, three times in a column round the house and finally to the kitchen. Upon their
[302] arriving there, a woman, generally the uncle's wife, paints on each cheek of every person a small spot of urucú, with her fingertips, sticking a bit of hawk down on each spot. As always, another person, standing to one side, shakes the rattle stick.

Going one by one in single file to the kitchen, the guests receive from the uncle, who stands next to the platform holding the smoked meat, a piece of meat, which each guest places on his shoulder. Then, always with the host in front, they again circle the house three or four times; when they enter, the uncle is already waiting by the other platform next to the seclusion room. One by one they hand him the pieces of meat they have received, and these are laid in their new places. Afterward the procession, making a few turns about the house to the beat of drums, again passes before the uncle, the guests handing him the bundles of tucum previously requested, and he hangs these from a beam near the seclusion room. The masked races customarily start at this hour, groups of five to ten persons, or even individuals, participating.

The girl's costume.—The feather and other ornaments of the girl are piled on
881 top of a tururí cloth with the aid of a cord stretched horizontally between two
292 poles set vertically in the floor in the center of the house. The uncle directs this service, which is carried out at his request by qualified men from among the guests. The feather bracelets have already been woven by female relatives on the eve of the ceremony (pl. 11, *b*). The main task is mounting and painting the macaw-feather crown and the confection of fringes for the bracelets, which are

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made of the pieces of white tururí the preparation of which began the ceremony. About two or three o'clock in the afternoon all is ready (pl. 12, *a–h*), and the vərëkị's male and female relatives try the pieces on themselves, the men and women alternately dancing with them.

In general, the vərëkị is decorated before sunset, within the uaricána enclosure, or in the seclusion room if it is already dark and the uaricánas have been returned. The girl again stands facing in the proper cardinal direction. In addition to the black dye which she has already received, she is now painted with urucú as well, on which hawk plumage is glued. She receives a cotton tanga, and over it is placed a kind of wide belt or tanga of strings of white glass beads of an antiquated type; she also receives pectorals of glass beads. Then ornaments are placed on her arms: bracelets woven with toucan throat feathers, long macaw (canindé) feathers thrust vertically into the bracelet, and the fringes of white tururí.

In front and back, falling from the neck to the hips, are two or more cordons of white tururí, each one with between fifteen and twenty toucan tails, which have been removed in one piece with the white abdominal feathers of the birds, interspersed with bird skins with bright plumage and snailshell rattles with bone clappers. Finally, on the vərëkị's head is placed the crown of tail feathers from the red macaw and plumes from the heron and royal hawk (pl. 12, *a*). If the ceremony takes place within the uaricána enclosure, the vərëkị takes care to cover her eyes with the tururí fringes. Then one of the women brings a heap of nu^{a}u^{a} leaves, which she distributes among the others; the vərëkị squats on her heels; all walk slowly round her and tap her lightly with the leaves, reversing the direction of march several times. At last all shout in chorus: "dyę:!" and throw the leaves on top of the roof thatch. Perhaps it was this ceremony that Marcoy, without having seen it, wished to reproduce, and that appeared in his plate as a scene of flagellation.

The vərëkị is again locked up in the seclusion room, where she must stand until the hour of release on the following dawn, with her hands supported on a horizontal beam and her face turned to the correct quarter of the house wall, behind which the musical instruments sound without interruption. She is not permitted to scratch herself with her nails, but must use a personal little stick, thrust behind her into the house thatch. According to one of my informants, in the old days, for this purpose a piece of wood was carved in the form of a hand with the fingers curled.

The festive mush (mogica).—At nightfall the vərëkị's relatives bring a large pot full of mush (mogica) from the kitchen to the house. This food is distributed among the guests, who eat it, then continue to dance and drink through the night until about two or three o'clock in the morning, when it is time to remove the vərëkị definitely from seclusion.

Removal of the girl from seclusion.—The paternal uncle, his wife, the vərëkị's mother, her female relatives, and some brother or cousin enter the seclusion room by the side door. They seize the girl very carefully on each side, pull the feather crown down over her eyes, and begin to dance with her, as well as the space will permit, always four paces forward to the front wall and four paces back.

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881 The cipós securing the laths of burity palm frond are cut, and the laths are pushed to the two sides like curtains, so that the vorēkị and her retinue may pass through. Very slowly, always advancing and retreating, the group approach the aperture, delay further in leaving, moving forward and falling back, and finally arrive at the central place in the house where they continue their seesaw dance, changing places slowly at the front. It is believed that in this hour the girl is exposed to the greatest danger, hence her relatives hold her by the arms with the greatest care, supporting her in front and back and holding the feather crown firmly over her eyes.

881 The way Bates explains the care taken of the vorēkị by the female relatives is
114 amusing. Convinced that he was witnessing a marriage, he writes: "During this whole time" the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the elder squaws, whose business seemed to be seduously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boozing." And in the plate we see the "bride" between two women, while a little farther away is the "bridegroom," making sheep's eyes.

881 During this dance with the vorēkị it was customary to sing certain verses no longer generally known today. A literal translation from the original Tukuna text follows.

[539] 1. Oh, what is it now that our vorēkị has come among us, all covered with plumage?
2. Oh, what dost thou say now of her toucan feathers?
3. Like a caterpillar [in chrysalis] our vorēkị was placed in seclusion by us!
4. [Challenging the guests' slight animation]: Art not thou absolutely ashamed to chatter like agoutis?
5. I shall not become a disagreeable anthill!

After five o'clock the group with the vorēkị slowly commences to go forth into the yard in their backward-forward dance, continuing to dance there and passing several times around the house until sunset, when the group halts, the feather crown is raised from the vorēkị's eyes, and her arms are released. A shaman lays
[789] a firebrand before her. With rapid movements of his fingers he removes some invisible object from his own head and, with a gesture of rolling it in front of his body, lays it on the firebrand. Then, handing this to the vorēkị and pointing out to her a pupunheira tree—or, if there is none, any other tree—he tells her: "Throw it at our enemy!" She throws the firebrand against the tree, saying: "tńń! ča-rị-ʊ'anị[a] na ma dɔɔ[a]'ēē!" (!; ča-rị ʊ'anị[a], my enemy; dɔɔ[a]'ēē, "not to bear, support"). From this moment on she can again move about freely without her relatives' protection; she then usually places herself behind one of the mummers to race with him, and so she continues to dance among the others until the hour of depilation arrives, before or shortly after midday.

881 *The depilation.*—Interrupting the dance, the paternal uncle pulls out a lock of
302 hair from the vorēkị, then she is led to the center of the house, where she is seated on a tapir hide—nowadays this is almost always superseded by a tururí cloth. A jar full of paisuarú and a smaller pot containing a brew of this drink are placed before her. The uncle and another person with a rattle stick remain beside these jugs. Three to six women sit in a circle round the vorēkị, on the hide, and immedi-

[a] Three or four days!

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ately begin to pluck out her hair in small swatches by rapid, vigorous tugs. According to Tessmann, this is done "with the aid of the milk of a tree"; most of the time, however, no auxiliary substance is used at all. 881 302

Only rarely do the Tukuna apply friction to the scalp with ashes and lemon juice or with ant (tracuá) eggs, repeating the treatment twice. Nor do they regularly get the girl intoxicated in order to make her stand the operation better. Some girls even reject the drinks which are offered them. Most of them bear the operation with evident calm, only occasionally giving some slight demonstration of discomfort when hairs are plucked from the temples and from the nape of the neck. Nevertheless, I saw one girl soon show pain (probably more than she actually felt); although she did not cry out, she twisted and lashed about desperately. They then gave her several doses of paiauarú broth, with which she became so drunk that she was very nearly unable to carry out the rest of the ceremony. [147]

The plucked hair is piled together on a mat and then placed in a sack of tururí. Since it is regarded as of no importance, I easily succeeded in obtaining hair for my collection. At the end there is left only a small lock on top of the head, which is anointed with red urucú and twisted, finally being jerked out by the uncle and raised into the air, accompanied by shouts of "dyę:!" Immediately thereafter, the vərẽkị replaces the feather crown on her head and gets up; the uncle seizes her by one arm, another relative grasping her by the other; and away they gallop in a crazy charge around the room, gesturing, with the last lock of hair plucked out, toward the spectators' genitals. 881

Today the uncle rarely fulfills his ancient obligation of preaching to the vərẽkị an energetic sermon on her future duties while she listens and sobs. Seated on the tapir hide in front of her, after the depilation, he lectures her more or less as follows:

"You may now leave seclusion and marry. Be diligent! A lazy girl will also have a lazy husband, like herself. Keep respect in your words to your parents and brothers. Be obedient to your mother, never going against her wishes. Above all, you should never abandon her! Even after you are married, take care of her." And so forth. [867]

The presentation of the masks.—The masqueraders make their last entrance, run in a frenzy through the house, each immediately receiving drink and a piece of smoked meat from some member of their own families, and rapidly remove their costumes. These are piled around the vərẽkị, who is again seated on a piece of tururí cloth in the center of the house so that her head scarcely peeps over the top. While the dance of the others continues about her to the sound of drums, the women of the house, seated together on the heap of costumes, take them up one by one, separate the face masks, undo the seams of the costumes, remove the fringes, and roll up the tururí cloths in a large cylindrical package, which will be stored. They are now the property of the host and of the vərẽkị's mother.

The girl's bath.—Before the vərẽkị bathes herself, an arrow with a round wooden tip is stuck at the entrance to the house, slightly inclined outward. All among the present company that possess magical powers—and there are sometimes a half dozen—approach the girl, gesturing over her, a process that may well last an hour. Afterward, some five or six men related to the vərẽkị lift her up,

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881 still on the tapir hide, and carry her to the river's edge, where the mother and the paternal uncle's wife remove her ornaments, while the arrow is stuck in the water some four meters from shore. Completely stripped, the vorĕk¡ kneels naked in the water, and the same shamans who were busy with the arrow now wash her with [842] handfuls of water, always passing the liquid from feet to head to prevent her becoming prematurely pregnant. If the shamans overdo in this task, the girl will never have children; if, afterward, a girl is sterile, the same shamans must be called in again to undo the spell. Finally, the vorĕk¡ crawls on all fours between the legs of one of the shamans, who remains standing in the water next to the arrow. Giving a leap and circling the arrow, she dives several times into the deeper water. While she is going ashore to be decorated anew, one of the shamans pulls out the arrow and holds it vertically over the surface of the river, while with the other hand he makes gestures with water toward the arrow. Once I saw a vorĕk¡, who was not carried to the bath but went afoot, throw before her path handfuls of ashes, on which she walked in order to protect herself against some malignant influence emanating from the earth.

The close of the ceremony.—The seclusion room and the platform beside it for the smoked meat are demolished, the wreckage being piled in the center of the house. This is swept, and all the rubbish, which is naturally considerable, is heaped up in burden baskets. Each guest takes an armful of the debris, and the women carry away the burden baskets full of rubbish, while others bundle up the dance staves, spears, and masquerade hooks. Thereupon all follow in procession to the river, where they throw their loads into the water (pl. 11, *c*). Unless this is done, all the residents of the house will sicken and slowly die.

On this occasion everyone takes a bath without removing his clothes; that is, [515] men, women, and children drag and toss one another into the river. Soon the clayey edge, wetted down by those entering and leaving, becomes so slick that any [522] push is sufficient to force a person to slip into the river. The scene arouses great hilarity and at times has a certain erotic stamp, but it is still an excellent refresher to raise the spirits of those who have drunk to excess.

The guests change their wet and muddy festive attire for workaday clothing, load their canoes, and leave, but those remaining behind take to their hammocks only after emptying the jars to the last drop of paiauarú. The house is again carefully swept and, as the only memory of the feast, there remains the vorĕk¡ with a cloth wrapped round her head (pl. 15, *a*), costume fringes thrown over the highest rafters, a few costumes dangling from the house posts, and some dance staves that escaped destruction thrust beneath the roof thatch.

No remedy is applied to the vorĕk¡'s denuded head; however, I once saw a [302] woman with a beautiful head of hair rub it over the girl's cranium immediately [757] after the depilation. I have never seen, or heard it said, that the operation has any disagreeable consequences for the girl except that she must wear a handkerchief tied round her head until the new hair has grown.

In the old days there was an additional ceremony immediately after the close of the feast, of which a remembrance is preserved in legends. The vorĕk¡ was taken by her relatives to some fishing spot in the igarapé and, standing erect in the water, was washed with a solution of the drug timbó. It was hoped that this

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PLATE 2

Children of mɛ̃ɛ̃ʔtʃua (pl. 3, *a*), Igarapé da Rita. *a*. Generio vanɛ̃ʔk], aged twenty-five, *b*. Manoel auʷɛ̃ʔtʃ-k], aged sixteen. *c*. Avelina ɛ̃ilaʔna, aged twenty. *d*. Beloca bu:ʔ-nɛ̃-na, aged twelve.

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CHILDREN OF MÖÖTINÃ, IGARAPÉ DA RITA

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PLATE 3

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a. mɨɨ̈'tjaa, Igarapé da Rita, aged fifty. *b*. Josefa dya'ɛ̈imɛna, aged twelve, Igarapézinho. *c*. Joaquim gɨ'-vɛ̈', aged eighteen, Igarapézinho, brother of Josefa. *d*, Julio dyiɨ̈', Igarapézinho, aged fourteen, brother of Josefa.

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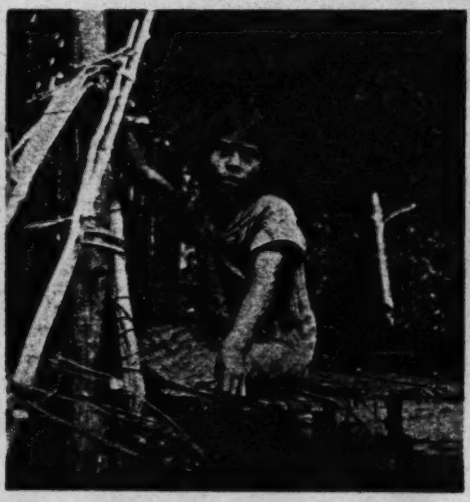
a



b

c

d

MÕTÍRA MARAPÉ DA RITA; THREE YOUNG PEOPLE FROM MARAPÉZINHO

[p. 176 contains no text]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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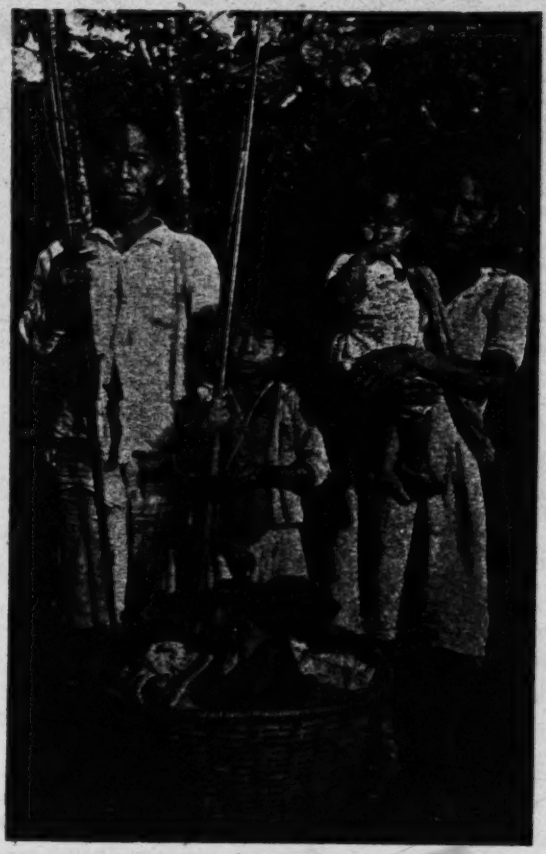
854



A VISITING FAMILY

[p. 178 contains no text]

1:Nimuendajú E.-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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PLATE 15

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Girl (varĕkĭ) at puberty ceremony. *a*, Girl with a cloth round her plucked head. *b*, Girl without the headcloth; the hair is beginning to grow again. *c*, Girl among her relatives. Nino ʔɨnɨʔkĭ, stands behind girl.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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[302]

a

b

[534]

c

GIRL AT PUBERTY CEREMONY

2. Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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Each residence has a proper name, given by the owner at a special feast. Houses are usually clean. 552 356

Household furniture.—Hammocks are made by a netlike technique of tucum thread of different colors; they are now used only for daytime resting. Clothes are kept in large baskets. 513 286

On the struts and rafters of the house one can often see remnants of the paraphernalia of feasts: masks, turury fringes, drums, and dance sticks. Ears of maize hang from the frame of the house or are piled in the loft. 352

The *Tucuna* never build a fire or eat in the dwelling. The kitchen is always a small separate house. Fire was formerly produced by drilling a horizontal piece of wood, which was placed over two cross pieces. There is, however, a tradition that even in old times they made fire by striking two stones. [343] 372

Fire fans are made exclusively of large bird wings. [412]

The *Tucuna* have plenty of small four-legged stools, either rectangular or oval, made from a single piece of wood, sometimes elaborately carved in the shape of a chelonian or batrachian. 352 532

TRANSPORTATION

Formerly, the *Tucuna* traveled largely on land, although on the small streams they used small primitive canoes made of paxiuba palm. From the *Omagua* they learned to make "ubá" type dugout canoes, and from the Neo-Brazilians to make "casco" type dugouts which were widened by heating them over a fire. These are sometimes provided with round shields (rodellas) and gunwales. *Tucuna* canoes are so well made that civilized people seek them. Paddles have crutch handles and a round blade with a large point. The blade and the crosspiece on the end of the handle, but not the handle, are invariably painted black. 501 [177]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

Formerly, both sexes trimmed their hair slightly over the brows, and used a comb made of twigs held between two parallel sticks. 302

Both sexes used to pierce their ear lobes; only women do so now. Through the hole they usually wore little plates of white wood; on feast days they inserted small rods with feathers on the front end, from which a small metal plate hung. Women's plates were triangular, men's moon-shaped. Long ago they pierced the nasal septum, through which they had put a little rod of *Gynerium*. They also used to tattoo the face, which at one time may have indicated clans. There are still recollections of circumcision of girls, but not of men, as described by Father Noronha in 1768. 304 301 [174] [114]

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

2: Nimuendaju E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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881 Several hours after midnight, half a dozen of the girl's relatives, holding her around the waist while her eyes are covered by the feather diadem, [535] dance back and forth toward the wall, which is cut open with a knife so that they finally pass through into the main room. As she is now more exposed to invisible forces, the relatives dance with her until near dawn, then slowly go outside and circle the house. At sunrise they uncover her eyes and have her throw a burning stick against a pole marked to represent the "enemy." She now walks without assistance and dances freely with the others in the house.

[302] Depilation follows. The girl sits on the tapir hide in the middle of the room while three to six women pull out her head hair in little bunches, [534] accompanied by a small drum (tambor) and rattle. She endures the operation calmly, not even drink being given to alleviate the pain. Her paternal uncle in a vigorous speech then instructs her about her future duties as a marriageable girl.

The masks are now surrendered, each owner receiving a piece of roast meat. The disguises are piled around the girl, until only her head protrudes. The cloth is then ripped and the shreds thrown over the house beams. The turury cloths, which now belong to the host, are wound up and put away.

The seclusion room and roast-meat stand are dismantled. The participants divide the pieces, going in a solemn procession to toss them into [482] the river. The girl is carried on the tapir hide held by five or six men over their heads in the procession. She undresses, and, kneeling in [751] shallow water where a magic arrow protects her against water demons, she is washed by all the men who have magical powers. She then redecorates herself and joins the dancers, who perform in the house until the last drop of beverage is drunk. At the end of the feast, everyone [522] bathes hilariously together, tossing each other into the water.

Formerly, in order to bring a large haul of fish, the girl was washed [226] again after the feast with a solution of timbó at an appropriate spot on [789] the creek.

Six to eight months later there is a supplementary but less ceremonial feast to trim the girl's regrown hair.

841 Subsequent menstruations entail few restrictions: a woman stays in her yard because the spirits of certain trees may injure her with an arrow and because contact with her would make a man inefficient in any undertaking.

836 **Marriage and adulthood.**—Sexual intercourse with prepubescent girls is unthinkable; with young women it brings shame on the whole family. There is no instance of ravishment. Rape is a grave offense to the parents.

584 A request for marriage is made to the girl's paternal uncle, but if the girl refuses peremptorily, she cannot be forced to marry. Public notice

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

whose words I afterwards tried to express in musical notation, despairing ever to write them in syllables. 194

Like most of the river-tribes, these Ticunas understood the Tupi dialect, and spoke 191

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302

TYPICAL PORTRAIT OF A TICUNA INDIAN.

it a little. Our men learned, from their inquiries as to our unexpected meeting at such an hour, that the natives had visited their plantation in order to gather the banana and yucca which they were then taking home. This store, providing sustenance for a week, assured them of passing the whole of this time in idleness, swinging in a ham- 222

The master of the hut then addresses the stranger, and in the hollow ventriloqual tones peculiar to the Ticunas, asks, "Who are you?—Where do you come from?—Are you friend or foe?—What brings you here?" The stranger satisfies these inquiries one after the other; or, more frequently, his visit having only a commercial aim, is content to answer by exhibiting the articles he brings, and which he desires to exchange for the products of Ticuna industry. The arms are then cast aside in order to discuss the value of the goods offered and those wanted; it will be readily understood that the discussion is intermingled with numerous requisitions on the caisuma. The articles of Ticuna industry consist of yucca-flour, blowing-pipes, hammocks, hunting-poison, and coarse cotton goods.

Some young girls with short-cut hair whom we had noticed among the Ticunas led us for a moment to believe that they shared the custom of cropping with the Yahuas; but the information we obtained on this subject disabused us of the notion. The cropped pate of these young girls was only the visible sign of their having attained the age of puberty, and was the complement of the mysterious practice which the tribes of the Plain of Sacramento, and notably the Conibos, call *Schébianabiqni*. The Ticunas name it *Ihiéboah*, an expression which is less humorous than the other, and which may be translated "young girl," from *ihié*, woman, and *boah*, child.

After translating the word, it remains to describe the custom itself.

When the matrons find that a female child has attained puberty, they take possession of the young girl, conduct her in a procession to a hut built in a lonely place for the purpose, shut her up in it after providing some food and a vessel of water, and then leave her for forty-eight hours, the victim of *ennui* or her reflections. At the expiration of this time the matrons come to deliver their prisoner; but before giving her complete liberty, they rub her head with the milky juice of a *ficus*, which instantaneously coagulates, and forms, under the rotatory motion of the palms of their hands, a multitude of little balls, within which is entangled the hair of the young girl. These little balls, which the matrons snatch away one by one for amusement, tear away the hair with them, and make the patient scream with pain; two musicians, with their backs to the entrance of the hut, play an accompaniment to this proceeding on the flageolet and tambourine.

When the head of the victim has been thus completely stripped, the women cover it with a hood of yellow feathers, the shape of which reminds one of a species of toadstool (*Boletus*); in the centre of this is fixed a plume of feathers from the tail of the ara. Thus accoutred, the young girl, frightened and crying, is first led round the village, and then conducted in succession to the river-side and the forest, continually followed by the matrons, who whip her roughly with green boughs in order to harden her against the trouble to come.

After several hours of wandering in this manner, and an indefinite number of draughts of caisuma which the young girl is forced to drink, they introduce her into a hut where a new hammock has been slung for the purpose. Utterly broken down with fatigue, drunkenness, and the switchings so unsparingly administered, she tumbles into the swinging net and immediately falls into a profound sleep. In the meantime, the assembled nation celebrates, with games and a remarkable consumption of fermented liquor, the Ihiéboah fete.